A

SERMON

Preach'd at the CASTLE of

YORK,

TO THE

CONDEMNED PRISONERS

On *Monday* the 30th of *March*, 1691.

Being the *Day* before their *Execution*.

With an APPENDIX, which gives some Account of *them All*; but more particularly of Mr. *Edmund Robinson* Clerk, who was Condemned and Executed for *High Treason* in counterfeiting the *King's Coyn*.

By *GEORGE HALLEY*, M. A.
Succentor of the Vicars Choral of the *Cathedral*, and Rector of St. *Cuthbert's* in *York*.

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Z. Iſham.

Lord Crewe's
Charity

Durham, England

To his Honoured Friend *HENRY FAIRFAX*, Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *York*.

Worthy SIR,

THIS Sermon (*which I have presum'd to prefix your* Honourable *Name unto*) *was design'd to a' been preach'd on the* Sunday *before the* Great Execution; *but, thro' the extraordinary Confluence both of the* Gentry *and* Commonalty, *your* Deputy *here pretended he durst not suffer the* Prisoners *to come into the* Judgment-Hall *for fear the Vastness of the* Crowd *might give some of them a favourable Opportunity to make their Escape. Upon this Pretence the* Good People *were enforc'd to return Home disappointed of their Expectation; for* whose sake *therefore chiefly (that they may have the benefit to read what they were deny'd the Liberty to hear) and at the Request and Importunity of some of the* Great Auditory *on the following Day, I have adventur'd its Publication.*

The Words of Dying Persons *are generally the most affecting and impressive; and 'tis possible this* Discourse, *tho mean and imperfect, and falling short of its* Excellent Subject, *may produce such a good Effect; its being compos'd upon a very* lamentable occasion, *for such whose* Funerals *were nigh at hand, for such whose Vice and Immorality had brought upon 'em an infamous Death, will, I hope, sensibly touch the Hearts of ungodly Men, and perswade them to the* fear of God, *and the* keeping his Command-

ments, *will create in them an inclination and deſire to true Wiſdom and Underſtanding. For what can better hinder the Decay of* Chriſtian Piety *in the World, what can ſtrike a greater Awe upon the Conſciences of ſinful Men, what can ſooner enkindle in their Breaſts a Religious Fire, a ſerious Thoughtfulneſs and Reflection, than an* Exemplary Puniſhment *and a Conſideration of the* latter End? *And if any, who are pleas'd to caſt an impartial Eye upon this following Diſcourſe, which ſets before them in Perſpective the moſt* Mournful Objects, *the ſad* Cataſtrophe, *and fearful End of ſuch Men, as have been* Martyrs *to Folly and Irreligion; if any, I ſay, be thereby influenced* to walk honeſtly as in the day, *to a ſincere Practice of the* Chriſtian Religion *in all the Branches of it, which reſpect either God or Man; if thus this Diſcourſe proves the happy Inſtrument of their Converſion, I ſhall think the whole End and Deſign of Preaching and Printing it to be ſucceſsfully obtain'd, and I ſhall not at all repent it's being preſented to the* Publick View.

That I have Dedicated *it to you, is, becauſe I think you have the moſt* Right, *the beſt* Title *to it; for it was you,* Dear Sir, *who were pleas'd to conſtitute me the* Ordinary, *and to commit to my Care ſuch as were Condemn'd to die; of which reſpect, I think my ſelf happy, having in this Opportunity to make my public Acknowledgment, and to give you ſome* ſatisfaction *how I behaved my ſelf in that moſt* Charitable Office; *how I diſcharged the great Truſt you repoſed in me, according to the beſt of my poor Capacity.*

As this Sermon *therefore owes its* Birth *to you, to whom*

whom then ſhould I have recourſe but you for its Patronage *and* Protection? *And if you are pleas'd to confer upon it ſo great a Priviledg, ſo immenſe a Favour, to give it your Countenance and Recommendation, I flatter my ſelf with Hopes of its finding a welcomer Reception and kinder Entertainment in the World for* your ſake, *for whom all expreſs the greateſt Eſteem and Veneration.*

And as a Teſtimony of my Thankfulneſs, as a grateful Reſentment of your Kindneſs *and Civility, I ſhall heartily pray, That you may anſwer the* Illuſtrious Character *their* Sacred Majeſties *have been graciouſly pleas'd to engrave upon you, that by your* innate *Courage and Reſolution, by your Great Activity in the* Glorious Orb *you're plac'd in, by the faithful Diſcharge and vigorous Execution of the Truſt and Power you are clothed with, you may prove a ſtrong and an happy Support of the beautiful and incomparable Frame of their* Government *in this critical Juncture of Affairs, that your Watchfulneſs and Circumſpection may be ſuch, as may defeat and fruſtrate the pernicious Deſigns of the* reſtleſs *and* implacable Papiſts, *and other* male-contented Men *amongſt us, who, tho they look different ways, yet, like* Sampſon's Foxes, *are joyn'd together* in the Tail, *do both alike conſpire its* Conflagration: *For ſuch Men, at this time a day, to be the* Papiſts *Tools, and work their own Deſtruction, to be doubly cajol'd and impos'd upon, to be twice cheated and abus'd with Idle Stories, and now to ſuffer themſelves to be Seduc'd into a Belief of the* French Kings *Kindneſs, that he has no dangerous Deſign againſt our* Liberties *and* Religion; *this is the greateſt Folly, the*

moſt

moſt monſtrous Stupidity, the moſt unaccountable Indiſcretion: And yet we have ſuch fooliſh and ungrateful Iſraelites *amongſt us, who loath their* Manna, *ſurfeit of Happineſs, and long again for the* Fleſh-Pots of *Egypt.*

I pray God they may ſee in time the things which belong unto their Peace, *that they may never feel the heavy and galling* Yoke, *the* Inſolent Power *and* Tyrannical Government *of* France, *that the* Romans *may* never take away our *Place and Nation.*

This ought to be the fervent Prayer and hearty Endeavour of all true Engliſh-men, *of All who wiſh* Old England's *Happineſs, of* whom, *I'm ſure* you'r *one.*

That God *may bleſs our* Church *and* State, *our* Gracious K. William and *Q.* Mary, *that he may give his Holy* Angels *charge over them, and hide them under the Shadow of his Wings, may never give them up into the Hands of their cruel and malicious Enemies of the* Romiſh Faction, *that He may proſper their* Majeſties Government *in theſe Kingdoms, and Crown their* Armies *both by Land and by Water with all Victory and good Succeſs, that all true Temporal Felicity may be their* Portion *here, and immortal Bliſs their* Reward *hereafter,* as alſo of you and yours, *is, and ever ſhall be, the hearty Wiſh and conſtant daily Prayer of,*

SIR,

Your *Affectionate* and
very *Humble* Servant,

GEORGE HALLEY.

Deuteronomy XXXII. xxix.

Oh that they were Wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their Later End!

THIS Chapter the *Hebrews* call the Summary, or an Abridgment of the whole Law; it is the Song of *Moſes*, which he compoſed for, and ſung to the Children of *Iſrael* before his Death: He was highly ſenſible what a rebellious and ſtiff-necked People he had had the Conduct and Government of, and by Divine Inſtinct or Inſpiration foreſaw their greater Rebellion after his Departure from them, and the Dreadful Judgments that would fall down upon them; plainly foretold, that after his Death God would pour down upon them the fierceſt Inſtances of his Anger and heavy Diſpleaſure, for their Violation of his Commandments, for their Nonconformity to his Divine Laws and Preſcriptions: We find him therefore, in the Cloſe of the foregoing Chapter, ſummoning the Elders of their Tribes, and their Officers, to whom he communicated his Preſcience or Fore-knowledge of *their utterly corrupting themſelves after his Death, and of the Evil which would befall them in the latter days for their doing Evil in the ſight of the Lord, for their provoking him to Anger through the work of their hands*, verſ. 27, 28, 29.

And indeed, what *Moſes* thus foretold, exactly came to paſs; for when they were come into the Promiſed

Land, and had received particular Command utterly to deſtroy all the Idolatrous Inhabitants thereof, for fear they ſhould be inveigled by them, and drawn away to their Idol-Worſhip, and thoſe Abominable Pollutions they were infamouſly guilty of; yet, contrary to the expreſs Command of God, they executed not this Severity, they *deſtroyed not the Nations, but mingled among the Heathen, and learned their Works; they went a whoring with their own inventions, they ſerved their Idols, and ſacrificed their Sons and Daughters unto Devils.* Thus to their Idolatry they added Blood-guiltineſs, of the higheſt degree, the deepeſt Dye, even the moſt barbarous and unnatural, the Blood of their deareſt and innocent Children. Theſe, *Moſes* told them, would be ſuch Provocations, as would moſt juſtly inflame the vehement Anger and Diſpleaſure of God, as would enforce the Almighty to withdraw his Favour and Protection from them; ſo to abhor them, tho his own peculiar People, that he would give *them over into the hands of the Heathen, and ſuffer ſuch as hated them, to Rule and Lord it over them.* All this *Moſes* faithfully repreſented to the Elders of their Tribes, and to their Officers, but withal preſcribed them an effectual way to Peace and Reconciliation with their God, to render him propitious and favourable to them, and that was, a turning unto him with true and faithful Repentance: This, he told them, would be the only way to oblige the Lord to Pity and Commiſeration: If they ſincerely repented, their ſins then, tho of ſo high and provoking a Nature, *would be blotted out, and the times of refreſhing would come*; God then would hear their Complaint, God *then would make his Arrows drunk with their Enemies Blood*, verſ. 42. and Crown them, his People, with Victory and good Succeſs. But alaſs! *Moſes* had fearful

ful Apprehenſions of their Obdurateneſs and Impenitency, of their Blindneſs and Stupidity, that they would loſe all their true Judgment, that for want of underſtanding, they would deſpiſe his wholſom Counſels and Inſtruction; therefore he very pathetically and Affectionately prays for them in the Words of my Text, *Oh that they were wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their latter end!*

From which Words I will endeavour to ſhew you,

I. What it is to conſider.

II. The Benefit of Conſideration.

III. What is meant by the latter End, the Object of Conſideration.

IV. The great Advantage of conſidering the latter End.

V. That to conſider our latter End is an Argument of our Wiſdom and Underſtanding.

VI. I ſhall make a particular Application, and then a'done.

Oh that they were wiſe, &c.

But Firſt, In the firſt place, What it is to conſider.

And here, to conſider, is to make a proper Uſe of the rational Faculty which God hath implanted in every one of us, to exerciſe the ſeveral Capacities of the Soul, to reflect upon our ſelves, to meaſure our Motions, our Actions, by the Standard of Reaſon. Whoever, through a manly and ſerious Application of his Mind, takes a juſt and an impartial View of himſelf, of all ſuch things as relate to and concern him, and accordingly governs his Will and Affections, determins his Behaviour and Deportment; ſuch an one is a conſiderative Man. When a Man ſuffers not his Paſſions to tumultuate and ferment into a Storm, nor himſelf to be carried away with Exorbitant Luſts, but embraces in his

Mind

Mind the whole Nature, Tendency, and all the Circumſtances of things; when he weighs them in the Scale of Reaſon, and diligently examins, carefully obſerves which way the Scale turns, and proportions his Courſe, his Actions to ſuch a diligent Obſervance and careful Examination; ſuch a Man is a wiſe and ſerious, a thinking and conſiderative Perſon: And this it is, in ſhort, to conſider; which brings me to the ſecond obſervable, namely,

The Benefit of Conſideration.

It is a great Art and an Excellence in Man to know how to think, how to conſider; it is a thing that requires ſome time for its Accompliſhment and Perfection, ſome Pains, ſome Induſtry for its Acquiſition; and whoever would but take the Pains, will but be at the expence of ſome Labour to ſeek it, will certainly find it; and when he hath found it, nothing will be more uſeful and neceſſary, more beneficial and Advantagious to him; nothing will more avail to the good Conduct and well-government of his Life and Converſation: For then he will be able to look into the Nature of Humane Actions, to weigh well the Cauſes, and compare the Conſequence of things, and to exerciſe that Senſe and Reaſon which God hath plentifully enrich'd and endow'd him with: And what can better contribute to his Peace and Happineſs, to his Security and Preſervation? If he communeth but with his own Heart, and acts according to the Illumination of his Underſtanding, to the Dictates of Reaſon and Convictions of Conſcience, if he ſeriouſly revolves in his Mind the Reward of Vertue and the Danger of Vice; in all probability he will ſtand in Awe, and not ſin; he will have a care of affronting his God by wickedneſs and impiety; and this is the Benefit, this is the Advantage of Conſideration

ſideration. Alas! if we ſail without Chart, without Compaſs, without a Pilot, what can we expect but a fatal Shipwrack? If Men will not endeavour to diſpoſe themſelves to a ſerious Conſideration and Reflection upon what they are a going to do; but, as *the Horſe into the Battle*, ruſh upon things with Indiſcretion and Precipitancy; what can be the conſequence of ſuch their Folly, but Ruin and Deſtruction? It is the worthy Obſervation of *Philo*, *That the firſt reaſon of all the dangers and miſcarriages of Men lies in their running on with the boiſtrous Tide of Paſſion; and that the firſt hopes of ſafety flow from a ſober reaſoning of the matter.* But behold a greater than *Philo* is here: God himſelf lays the blame of all Men's Miſery upon Inconſideration. Thus God complains of his People, *Iſa.* 1. 4. *Ah ſinful Nation, a people laden with Iniquity!* And why were they ſo? Why forſook they the Lord, and provoked him to Anger? It was becauſe of their heedleſneſs and Inadvertency: *Iſrael doth not know, my People doth not conſider*, verſ. 3. Thus *Ezekiel* 18. 27, 28. *Who is he that turneth away from his Wickedneſs, and doth that which is lawful and right?* The Conſiderative Perſon, *He repents becauſe he conſidereth:* So that Inconſideration is the chief Impediment, the principal Obſtruction of Repentance, which is the Reaſon why God, according to *Solomon*'s Aſſertion, will ſeverely puniſh Men for it at the Day of Judgment, *Eccleſ.* 12. 14. *God will bring every Work into Judgment, with every ſecret thing*, i. e. ſay the generality of Latiniſts, *Pro omni Errato*, with every Error or Miſcarriage; *i. e.* He will bring into Judgment the inconſiderateneſs of Men: And this Tranſlation the *Seventy* ſeem to approve of, *Every ſecret thing*, i. e. ὲν παντὶ παρεωραμένῳ, now παροραν, *eſt incurioſe aſpicere, vel per incuriam mentis minus attentis*

attentis oculis & præterire, To behold or look upon a thing with a negligent or careleſs Eye. This Heedleſneſs and Neglect, this Remiſsneſs and Inconſideration in our Actions God will puniſh at the Day of Judgment; and there is all the Reaſon and Juſtice imaginable in ſo doing, becauſe from Inconſideration flow all Vicious and Immmoral Actions.

But this by the By.

Thus *Pſalm* 4. 4. What curbs and reſtrains a Man from the Commiſſion of any wicked Act? *A withdrawing into his Chamber, and there communing with his own Heart*; ſuch a Solitude, ſuch a private Retirement and Communing, darts the moſt powerful and auſpicious Influence upon the Hearts of Men: *Stand in awe and ſin not; commune with your own Hearts upon your Beds, and be ſtill.* Thus in the Goſpel; Who were they that heard the Word of God, and were no better for it? Such as heard it ſlightly and ſuperficially, ſuch as ſuffered it not to enter into their Mind and Conſideration: Without Conſideration it was impoſſible for it to take root and grow, or to digeſt into Principles of Action; ſome Seed, indeed, there was, which arriv'd to maturity and perfection, which was proſperous and fruitful; but the reaſon was, becauſe it was ſown in an honeſt and a good Heart; ſuch heard the Word and kept it, *i. e.* Retain'd it in their Thoughts and Conſideration, *and ſo brought forth Fruit with patience*, *Luke* 8. 12, 13, 14, 15.

But thus much of the Benefit of Conſideration: I come now to the third Obſervable, Namely, To ſhew you what is meant by the Latter End, which is the Object of the Conſideration here in the Text: *Oh that they were wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their latter end!* That is, as if he ſhould have ſaid, Oh

Oh that they would ſee the things which belong unto their Peace! Oh that the Evil I forewarn them of, may deter them from avowed Wickedneſs and Impiety, may oblige them to a conſtant Living up to the Precepts and Obligations of the Divine Laws! If not, Oh that the Judgments of God may convince them of their Errors, and reclaim their Sins, that they would ſtimulate and excite them to Repentance, to a due ſenſe and conſideration what it is to ſin againſt God, to an underſtanding what will be the Event of perſiſting in Wickedneſs, what will be the Reward of their Impenitence, both in this Life and the Life to come; ſo that by the Latter End is to be underſtood not only Death, but, what follows after Death, *the Judgment*, an Appearance before the dreadful Tribunal of Almighty God, there to receive a Reward or a Puniſhment proportionable to what we have tranſacted upon the Stage of this World. Oh that all you, who hear me this day, would underſtand and conſider this great and certain Truth! *That it is not only appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the Judgment.* This is the import, this is the ſignification of the Latter End; Death is our Latter End, but the Reſurrection, the future Judgment is a Latter End beyond it. The Soul is of an immortal Nature, incapable of any Ceſſation, can never ceaſe to be; the Body muſt naturally die, it's noble Frame and admirable Contexture muſt be diſſolved and taken in Pieces, it muſt return to its original Duſt and Corruption; tho this is but a tranſitory and temporal Death, this is reparable by a Reſurrection; it muſt certainly be raiſed again, and be re-united to the Soul, and ſhare with it in whatever ſtate or Condition it ſhall be ſentenced unto; if it hath not ſerved God, but the De-

vil, it ſhall then ſuffer a ſecond Death, after its reunition to the Soul, they ſhall both be depreſs'd into a ſtate of Miſery, a State where are endleſs and eaſeleſs Torments; a Miſery, which is not Temporal or Tranſitory, but durable and permanent to all Eternity; *and who can dwell with everlaſting burnings?* Whoſoever is wiſe will conſider this.

Men and Brethren, let me uſe the Strain of the Holy Apoſtle to *King Agrippa*, *Acts* 26. 27. Do you believe the Scriptures? Do you believe a Reſurrection, a Judgment to come? I know you believe it: May I ſay, I know you remember it? This I dare ſay, that if you do not, I know you have no cauſe not to remember it: A thing of the higheſt Importance, a thing of the greateſt Concernment that ever will befall you, a thing that is moſt ſure and certain, a thing that you can as little avoid, as you can avoid Death, and a thing that muſt determin of your Eternal State, and do you not remember it? I am ſure we have all cauſe to remember it, we have all the reaſon imaginable to underſtand and conſider our Latter End.

If there be any here of a *Sadducean* Temper, that deny the Reſurrection; or, with the *Corinthian Naturaliſt*, queſtion *How are the Dead raiſed up?* And *with what Body do they come?* Such are fooliſh and inconſiderate; ſuch Queſtions flow from Incogitancy and Indiſcretion, ſuch are horribly deceived; and they will find themſelves groſly miſtaken, for there will be a Reſurrection from the Dead: *God hath certainly appointed a day in the which he will judge the World in righteouſneſs, by that Man whom he he hath ordain'd, whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all*

all men, in that he hath raiſed him from the Dead, Acts 17. 31. How ſtrangely then will ſuch *Sadducees*, or any, who are mindleſs of a future ſtate, be ſurpriz'd at the Reſurrection of the Dead? Oh! that we had been wiſe and conſider'd this. Oh! let us lie ſtill in the Duſt, will they then cry, let the Earth cover us, *Let the Mountains and the Rocks fall upon us.* Alas! *the Trumpet will ſound*, and they ſhall be rais'd from the Dead, they ſhall hear this terrible Voice, *Ariſe you Wretches and come to Judgment*; they will then find that, which *Solomon* hath aſſerted, to be infallibly true, *Eccleſ.* 11. 9. *Know that for all theſe things God will bring thee into Judgment.*

And this leads me to the fourth Obſervable, namely,

The great Advantage of conſidering the latter End. *Oh that they were wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their latter End!*

It is the Saying of the *Wiſe Man*, Eccluſ. 7. 36. *Whatſoever thou takeſt in hand, remember the end, and thou ſhalt never do amiſs.* The *Latiniſt* reads it, *In omnibus Operibus vel Sermonibus tuis memorare Noviſſima & in æternum non peccabis*, In all thy Works or Words remember the laſt things, and thou wilt never commit *a Sin unto Death*; ſuch a Remembrance would make it morally impoſſible for thee to commit a preſumptuous Sin, a wilful and deliberate Tranſgreſſion. Now the *Four laſt things* to be continually remembred, are, *Death, a Judgment to come, Hell, and Celeſtial Glory.* And what more horrible than Death? What more terrible than ſuch a Judgment? What more intolerable than Eternal Fire? And what worthier Object can there be for us to exert our Fa-

culties upon, than God and the Manſions of everlaſting Felicity? How many Sins might we have avoided in the courſe of our Lives, if we had had the ſerious remembrance and apprehenſion of theſe things? And how many Sins might we yet avoid, if we would but endeavour to have theſe things, as *Belſhazzar's Hand-writing upon the Wall*, conſtantly in our Eye? Theſe things, *as the Pilot the Ship*, would direct and influence our whole Life and Converſation, would help us to ſteer our Courſe, and ſafely bring us to the Haven of Bliſs and Happineſs. Such would be the great Advantage of conſidering our latter End: If Men would but thus conſider, no Temptation would then take hold of them, nothing would ruffle and diſcompoſe their Conſcience, it *would be void of Offence both towards God and towards Men.* But alas! In this lapſed and degenerate Age, in this miſerable and naughty World, how many are there that have languid, luke-warm and feeble Opinions of Religion? If Judgment may be formed according to their Vicious and immoral Converſation, what a Deluge of Prophaneneſs and Impiety, Atheiſm and Infidelity overflows this *Sinful Land*, *this poor Nation?* How many live, as tho they believed that Vertue and Vice, that God and the Devil were Words ſignifying nothing, as if they were the Extract of ſome melancholy and pregnant Brain, as if they were invented meerly for Mens Terror and Affrightment? The *Halter*, the *Gibbet*, and the moſt terrible of Temporal Puniſhments too, have as little Influence upon Mens Lives, makes as ſmall an Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, as thoſe which are Eternal: How many have ſuffer'd as *Murderers*, as *Thieves*, as *Evil-doers?* And yet Men will not

not take Warning and Example; Men will not be deterr'd from committing the like abominable, Vile and Enormous Offences. Every *Aſſize* gives us too many freſh and ſad Inſtances of this Truth. Oh that Men would become wiſe, and conſider not only Temporal, but Eternal Puniſhments! Such a Conſideration would, if any thing, oblige them to follow the important buſineſs of Religion, *To hurt no body by Word or Deed, to keep their hands from picking and ſtealing:* Such a Conſideration would enforce them to *labour truly to get their own living*, and to do their Duty in that Station which Divine Providence hath allotted to them.

There is not certainly a more effectual way to revive the *drooping Spirit* of Chriſtian Religion in the World, than ſeriouſly to contemplate upon, and conſider our Latter End, That we muſt ſhortly die, and come to Judgment, and there receive a Reward according to our Deeds! If we were but poſſeſs'd with a warm and conſtant Senſe of theſe things, we ſhould, in all probability, endeavour to *walk circumſpectly*, *not as Foools*, *but as wiſe*, to be holy in all manner of Converſation.

Such is the advantage of a Religious Conſideration. Alas! were there but mature Thoughts, would but Men be wrought upon to act as reaſonable Creatures; would they but judiciouſly and ſoberly weigh things in the Balance of their Underſtanding, they would ſeldom or never be found wanting in their Duty and Obligation: If Men would once entertain ſerious Thoughts of Religion, they would ſoon ſet open their Ears to its ſweet and charming Language; if they would but fix their Eyes upon it, they would ſoon be captivated with its incomparable

Beauty;

Beauty, it would preſently attract their love and admiration, and enforce them to embrace it with all profound reſpect and affection: A conſideration of our latter end, a ſerious reflection upon Eternity, this would put the Soul into ſuch a frame and poſture, as would make it reſtleſs and uneaſy, wrack'd and impatient, till it had made its Peace with an incens'd Judge, by Repentance not to be repented of; till it had prepar'd it ſelf for a comfortable Appearance at his Bar, for a glorious advancement into an endleſs ſtate of Bliſs and Immortality: Such is the great advantage of conſidering our latter end. *Oh that they were wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their latter end!*

And this leads me to the fifth and laſt Obſervable, Namely, That to conſider our latter end, is an Argument of our Wiſdom and Underſtanding.

And here, if we conſider our latter end as we ought, if we ſeriouſly meditate upon Death and a Judgment to come, then we ſhall prepare our ſelves, and make ready for it by purity of Life, and holineſs of Converſation; ſuch a Conſideration will create in our Minds an abhorrency and deteſtation of Sin, and plant in us Vertue and Goodneſs, a perfect and ſincere love of God and Religion; and this, I am ſure, is the greateſt Wiſdom, the nobleſt Underſtanding.

The fear of the Lord, ſaith the Royal Pſalmiſt, *is the beginning of Wiſdom: a good Underſtanding have all they that do thereafter*, Pſalm 110. 10. *i. e.* There is no ſuch excellent and prudential courſe, as the preſerving in our Breaſts a juſt and due reverence of God, an awe to his Laws, and a dread to his Judgments;

ments; and all this is the happy effect of conſidering our latter end. *So teach us to number our Days*, is the fervent Prayer of *Moſes*, Pſal. 90. 12. So teach us to conſider our latter end, *that we may apply our Hearts unto Wiſdom*, i. e. to the important buſineſs of Religion; *thus ſhall we lay up in ſtore for our ſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come; thus ſhall we lay hold on Eternal Life:* And this if we do, it will be a demonſtrative argument of our Wiſdom and Underſtanding. And that you may be perſwaded *to incline your Ear unto Wiſdom, and apply your Hearts to Underſtanding*, I ſhall ſet before you the happineſs of a Religious, and the folly, of a vicious and an Immoral Converſation; and this I cannot better do, than by referring you to the third Chapter of the *Proverbs*: You will ſee there, how the Wiſe Man ſets off Religion in the moſt beautiful and glorious Dreſs, enumerates there its peculiar excellencies, and particular advantages; *ver* 16. He repreſents her as a great and generous *Princeſs*, diſtributing Gifts to her Subjects, *length of Days is in her right hand, and in her left hand Riches and Honour:* and *ver.* 17. *Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace*; i. e. They procure a bleſſed Tranquility in a Mans Mind and Conſcience, Proſperity in all his enterprizes, and Eternal Reſt with God in Glory. The *Religious Man* hath Peace and an Heaven in his Boſom; the greateſt tranſports of Joy poſſeſs and ſurround his Breaſt, and his laſt end is ſweet and comfortable, *he dies the Death of the Righteous*; his Conſcience then, as a Glaſs, repreſents to his ſight the Beatific Viſion and the Joys of Eternity. And this it is to conſider our latter end, this is the bleſſed effect of a righteous Life; whoſoever then thus conſiders his

his latter end, it is certainly an Argument of his Wiſdom and Underſtanding.

But Secondly, Conſider we the folly of a Vicious Life, and an Immoral Converſation; Alas! what is Vice and Immorality, but a ſort of practice that debaſeth and diſparageth a Man? Such a ſad courſe of Life generally plunges a Man into the moſt grievous and intolerable Evils, as a diſtemper both of Body and Soul, the greateſt diſtreſs of Fortune, Poverty and Diſgrace, a low and contemptible condition, reproach and the loſs of Reputation, Affliction and Diſcompoſure of Mind, the torments of a troubled Conſcience, (*for there is no Peace, ſaith my God, to the Wicked,*) the danger of a Death-bed Repentance, and frequently brings him to a violent and an unnatural Death: Add to this Miſery, the loſs of Gods favour and loving kindneſs; *ſuch treaſure up unto themſelves wrath againſt the day of wrath.* Oh the perplexity and conſternation ſuch are in when they come to dye! when their Conſcience preſents to their ſight the dreadful *Scenes* of a Judgment to come; their evil Conſcience then flaſhes in their Face, caſts abroad its Thunder, and ſtrikes them with the greateſt Terrour and Affrightment. All theſe are the lamentable effects of a vicious Life, and an immoral Converſation; which ſufficiently demonſtrates the folly of ſuch as prefer Wickedneſs above Religion; *ſuch do truly wander out of the way of Underſtanding*: But this is not all, *the Man that wandereth out of the way of Underſtanding, ſhall remain in the Congregation of the Dead*, ἐν συναγωγῇ γιγάντων, according to the verſion of the LXX, *Prov.* 21. 16. i. e. The Man that leaves the beautiful Paths of Vertue, which directly lead to Happineſs, and takes the By-Paths, the rough and

and unpleaſant Road of Iniquity, which conducts him to Eternal Death, ſuch a Man doth not only dethrone his Reaſon, is not only void of Underſtanding, but he ſhall remain in the Company of the *Giants*, of whom we read, *Gen.* 6. 4. They were Men of a monſtrous Stature, and whoſe wickedneſs too was proportionable to their large Size; theſe Men, as they were ſingularly eminent for their height and bigneſs, ſo were they horribly infamous for *Acts of Injuſtice*, for *Wrong and Robbery*, for *Tyranny and Oppreſſion*; theſe were the Men, *for whom it repented the Lord that he had made Man on the Earth*; theſe were the Men, whoſe Sins opened the Cataracts, the Windows of Heaven, and brought down a deluge of Wrath and Indignation; and the Man, *who works Wickedneſs, is not only without Underſtanding*, but ſhall be incorporated into the wretched Society and Converſe of thoſe Giants and Rebels againſt God, ſhall be condemned to keep them company, ſhall be ſentenced to that accurſed place, which they had aſſign'd them, when the Flood came and deſtroyed them all; a Place where the *Worm dieth not*, *and the Fire is not quenched*.

Thus I have ſhewn you,

I. What it is to conſider.

II. The benefit of Conſideration.

III. What is meant by the latter end, the object of Conſideration.

IV. The great advantage of conſidering the latter end.

V. That to conſider our latter end, is an argument of our Wiſdom and Underſtanding.

I come now in the Sixth and laſt place to make an Application, and then I a'done.

And here, *ſuffer a Word of Exhortation*, you, who worthily deſerve to be puniſhed; you, who for your Evil Deeds are condemned to die; let me beſeech you and prevail with you to conſider your Latter End; it behoves you conſider it: Eternal Bliſs and Happineſs ſure, is a thing of the greateſt and moſt weighty Conſideration, a thing of ſuch vaſt moment, that for you to put off the Thoughts of it, and neglect the Proviſion for it, is certainly the moſt unaccountable Indiſcretion, the greateſt Folly and Madneſs.

You have but this, and part of the Day following, to make your Peace with an Offended God, to make Proviſion for your Future Happineſs. To day then hear the Voice of God, who calleth upon you to conſider your latter End. I do not doubt your Conſideration of it in one Senſe, *i. e.* That you have terrible Apprehenſions of your Temporal Puniſhment, of the violent and unnatural End you have brought your ſelves unto; but this ought to be the leaſt of your Conſideration; nothing ought to diſturb you now, but the apprehenſion of your having offended God: And if you now do truly fear God, (as you have all imaginable reaſon *to fear him, who is able to caſt both Body and Soul into Hell*) that will raiſe you above all other Depreſſions, that will exalt you above all baſe and diſpiriting Fears. You are to conſider, that after your departure hence there will be a Judgment; and to make ready and prepare your ſelves for a comfortable appearance at that tremendous Tribunal; you have received Sentence of Death from an Earthly Judge, which Death is only Temporal and Tranſitory; and it was paſs'd upon you with all poſſible Regret and Reluctancy, with the greateſt unwil-

unwillingneſs; but if you repent not of the Evils you have done, a more terrible Sentence will be pronounced upon you by the Righteous Judge of the World, *Go you Curſed into everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Will you not then conſider your latter end, ſo as to prepare for it by true and faithful Repentance? Surely if you be wiſe, you will ſo conſider it, and let not your puniſhment here, but the conſideration, that you have offended a good and gracious God by your Wickedneſs, be the motive to ſuch a Repentance.

And here, let me a little touch upon, let me reprove the Wickedneſs, and ſet before you the evil things that you have done.

Two of you are Condemned for Murder, and that of a moſt cruel and barbarous ſort; the one, for *the Wife of his own Boſom*, the other, of *her harmleſs and innocent Babe*; Murders, monſtrous and unnatural: How Diametrically oppoſite are ſuch horrid Acts to the Laws of the Chriſtian Religion? They *command the Husband to dwell with his Wife according to Knowledg*, i. e. with all Conjugal Love and Affection, *to give honour to the Wife, as unto the weaker Veſſel*; How then doth he violate this Command, *who breaks the Bone of his Bone, who wounds the Fleſh of his Fleſh?* Chriſtianity obliges *Husbands to love their Wives as their own Bodies*, charges every Man *to love his Wife even as himſelf*, Epheſ. 5. 28. 33. *Husbands love your Wives, and be not bitter againſt them*, Col. 3. 19.

Secondly, We have before us a Woman who hath Murder'd her own Child, an Infant *born of Fornication*; Fornication of it ſelf is an hainous Sin, a Sin, that without Repentance excludes from the Kingdom of Heaven, 1 *Cor.* 6. 9. *Fornicators ſhall not inherit the Kingdom*

Kingdom of God: And it is a Sin much more hainous, when it is productive of a greater, when Murder is the ſad effect and lamentable conſequence of it; to deſtroy the Fruit of one's own Womb, to ſend it out of the World too unbaptized, before it was waſh'd *in the Laver of Regeneration*; to give it a *Bloody Baptiſm*! I want Words to expreſs the unnaturalneſs and barbarity of ſuch an Action. Alas! How doth the Commiſſion of one Sin make way for another? How doth one Wickedneſs tread upon the heels of another? The Devil tempted to Fornication, and then to hide the Shame, tempted to murder the Infant; though that was the moſt effectual way to be expos'd to the greater Ignominy and Diſgrace. Thus the Devil did with *David*, as ſoon as ever he ſucceeded in his Temptation to commit Adultery *with the Wife of Uriah*, he preſently took the advantage, and tempted him to add to his Adultery, the crying Sin of Murder.

Blood-guiltineſs! A Sin which defiles the Land, a Sin which cries to Heaven for Vengeance, which importunes the Juſtice, and wearies the Ears of the Almighty, till it be avenged; a Sin for which God hath not only ordained a Temporal, but an Eternal Death to be the puniſhment of it, unleſs his Wrath be atton'd with an hearty and an unfeigned Repentance: Pardon for Sins of ſuch an horrid nature, *muſt be ſought careſully with Tears.*

Others of you are to be cut off with the *Sword of Juſtice* for *Theft*, for *Wrong* and *Robbery*, Acts altogether repugnant to the Laws of the Land, and contradictory to the Laws of God, who hath commanded us not to Steal, *Thou ſhalt not Steal*; *had you ſought the Kingdom of God, and his Righte-*

Righteouſneſs, had you not neglected his Divine Service and Worſhip, had you wrought honeſtly with your hands, and been induſtrious in your reſpective Vocations, God would never have ſuffer'd you to have wanted the Comforts and Neceſſaries of this Life, but Idleneſs is the grand Snare of the DEVIL; had you truſted upon your Heavenly Father, who *Cloathes the Graſs and Lillies of the Field*, He would have provided for you, He *would have much more cloath'd you, O ye of little Faith.*

It is Excellent Advice which the *Royal Pſalmiſt* gives, 62. 10. *O truſt not in Wrong and Robbery:* He, that thinks to ſupport himſelf by ſuch Means, truſteth to a broken Reed, he will be ſure to be diſappointed, to find his Folly, when he expects the Fruit of his Contrivances; Riches innocently gotten are not to be rely'd on, much leſs ſuch Gain as is got by Injury and Oppreſſion; Acts of Injuſtice make Men odious to God, render them unfit for humane Society: There are few that follow this wicked Employment, but at the laſt reap the Wages which are appointed by the Law to be the Reward of it; and whoſoever of them eſcapes Vengeance in this World, ſhall not, without Repentance, eſcape Vengeance in the World to come: Nothing but the Execution of ſuch Men can give Check to their Wickedneſs, nothing can put a Stop to them, and prevent the Miſchief that ſuch Men do in the World, but a cutting them off, this is the Reaſon of Capital Puniſhments among Men; it is all imaginable Juſtice and Equity, to remove ſuch Men out of the World, as will be a Plague to Mankind, while they live in it.

Another of you ſuffers Death for *Burning a Barn*, for conſuming with Fire the Fruits of the Earth, which had been with Labour and Charge ſown and reap'd by one, who had formerly been to him a kind and an indulgent Maſter; An Act of Ingratitude as well as Impiety, and an Argument of a moſt Malicious and Diabolical Spirit, an Act that is

contrary to the *Golden Rule* of the Chriſtian Religion, which commands all its Profeſſors, not *to do that to others, which they would not have others to do unto them*; to put away *all Hatred and Strife, all Envy, Malice and Revenge*, ſuch being the Suggeſtions of the Devil.

Others of you are Condemn'd for *Coyning*, for Counterfeiting *the King's Coyn*, which, with *Clipping* of it, is one of the moſt growing Miſchiefs in the Kingdom; How Excellent is the *Coin* of this Nation, both for intrinſick Value and Comelineſs? and never was Mony ſo ſpoyl'd and abus'd as ours: If the ſame Queſtion were to be put in this Age, as of old, *Whoſe is this Image and Superſcription?* Part we might, but we could not anſwer the whole; we may indeed gueſs at *the Image* upon a piece of Money, but we cannot tell whoſe it is by the Superſcription, for that is all gone; but mark the End of ſuch Men.

Such Criminals rob the *King* of his Due, invade his Right and Propriety, and intrench upon his *Royal Prerogative*, for it is the *KING* alone who hath Power to *Coin*, it is He alone who hath an indiſputable Right to ſet the Value upon Money, and to make it currant within his Sovereignty and Dominion; and our Religion obliges us *to give unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's; ſuch therefore as Counterfeit or Clip the *King's Coin, the ſame are Thieves and Robbers, and it is an Iniquity to be puniſh'd by the Judge.*

From thoſe Baſe and Vitious Practices, What a Loſs flows to the *Subject?* What a Scandal to the *Nation?* A *Tradeſman*, that takes up theſe diſhoneſt ways of living, what Injury may he bring upon ſuch as are of the ſame Trade with himſelf? By under-ſelling them, by affording his Commodities at a Cheaper Rate than he bought them, becauſe of the unlawful Profit and Advantage he can make of the large or broad Money, that he ſees Paid down upon the Nail for them: But, Profit and Advantage did I ſay? *Alas!* This is not a way for a Man to enrich himſelf, there is a ſecret Curſe goes

goes along with ſuch Gains, whereas a Penny honeſtly got wears like Iron, but Eſtates acquir'd by *Coining and Clipping* are never of any long Duration, there is a ſtrange Improſperouſneſs that attends them; Riches ſo attain'd *have Wings and fly away*, turn to the Owners Hurt, bring them at the laſt to an Ignominious and a Shameful End.

I am heartily ſorry that one who had taken Holy Orders upon him, (though it is a conſiderable time ſince he pretended to an *Eccleſiaſtical Office or Adminiſtration*) ſhould prove a Malefactor in this kind, and that ſome ſhould dare to improve this Crime to a general Reflection, ſuch as do ſo, are baſe and ill-natur'd, cenſorious and unthinking People: Alas! *Offences will come*, there will be ſome bad in all Societies and Communities of Men, there *was a* Judas *among the very Apoſtles*, the beſt Body hath ſome bad Blood in it, the fineſt Silver hath ſome Allay, the brighteſt Days have ſome Clouds.

The Clergy, I muſt confeſs, are under the greateſt Obligation *to follow that which is good, to abſtain from all Appearance of Evil*; they are oblig'd to live with eſpecial Regularity and ſtrictneſs of Converſation, with all imaginable Care and Circumſpection: *The Miniſters of God!* They are the *Lights of the World*, they, above all others, *ought to let their Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they ſeeing their good Works, may Glorifie their Father which is in Heaven*; they are particularly oblig'd to enlighten the *Glorious Spheres*, wherein they move, with the bright Luſtre of an exact and an Exemplary Converſation; for let Wit and Learning, let the braveſt Parts and the beſt Accompliſhments ſtand in the Front, yet if ill Morals, if an ungodly Life brings up the Rear, the *Satyr* ſoon devours the *Panegyrick*, their Vice will be reflected upon, it will be ſuch an Interpoſition as will Eclipſe the Beauty and Glory of the reſt; it is true, Learning and Excellent Parts may ſtrike the Tympane, may make the Drum of the Ear to ſound, but, if there be not an honeſt

and a ſober converſation, they will never Touch the *Fibres* of the heart; if *the light, that is in them, be darkneſs, how great is that darkneſs!* they are plac'd as Stars in the Firmament, and if they Dart nothing but malignant, and improſperous influences, what can follow but an Univerſal Plague, an Epidemical Diſtemper?

But, *Alas!* They are Fleſh and Blood as well as other men are, they are not Exempted from Temptation; it is not Abſolutely impoſſible for them to fall into *the Snare of the Devil*; though it is matter of ſad conſideration, *that he, who Taught others not to Steal, ſhould Steal Himſelf*; *that* he, *who Preach'd to others, ſhould himſelf be a Caſt-away*; that he, who was obliged to teach, and exhort *Parents* too to *train up* their Children in the fear of the Lord, to dye them with vertue and goodneſs in ——————— their infancy, that they might the better keep the colour as long as they live; that ſuch an one ſhould Teach his only Son a *Treaſonable Trade*, ſhould Chalk him out ſuch Wicked, and unlawful ways of living, as have brought upon him ſhame and confuſion, as have thrown him into the moſt Deplorable Circumſtances; that he, who, at his initiation into the *Chriſtian Church* by Baptiſm, call'd him *Benjamin*, i. e. the Son of his Right Hand, a Son as dear and Precious to him as his Right Hand, ſhould bring him up to be *a Benoni*, i. e. a Son of Sorrow; this is matter of the ſaddeſt conſideration.

But let him, that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall.

We have inſtances in Holy Scripture of ſuch as have not anſwered their Character, as have Preach'd to others, and themſelves been Reprobate, as have Corrupted their Morals and Religion, as have by Covetouſneſs *fall'n into the ſnare of the Devil:*

Covetouſneſs is the Root of all Evil, and indeed ſuch an Evil as the Crime of this *Condemned perſon* had it's Riſe from; they

they *that will be rich*, that ſet their minds on the getting of riches, *fall into a Temptation and a ſnare, into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which ingulph or drown them in Deſtruction and Perdition; the Love of* Money *is the Root of all Evil, which while ſome have* coveted *after, they have Erred from the Faith*, and pierced *themſelves through with many ſorrows*, have brought themſelves to a ſad and moſt Wretched Condition; *And the Man of God ſhould flee theſe things*; this was the Charge, which St. *Paul* gave to his Scholar, and Spiritual Son *Timothy*, at his Embarquement into the *Epiſcopal Office*; 1 *Tim.* 6. 9, 10, 11.

We have, I ſay, inſtances in Holy Scripture of ſuch as have not anſwer'd their Sacred Character, as have Preach'd to others, and themſelves been Reprobate, as have by Covetouſneſs fall'n into the ſnare of the Devil; thus *Judas* was poſſeſs'd with a baſe and unworthy Spirit of Covetouſneſs, he ſold the very Son of God for Money; when he ſaw indeed, the matter was to End in the death of his Lord, *he Repented*, but Alas! He acted his own Tragedy with a ſad, and [illegible] ignoble death, *he hanged himſelf*, a Crime which there could be no Repentance for.

Thus *Balaam* for Money ſold to Deſtruction, 24000 *Men of Iſrael*, Numbers, *Twenty Fifth*, *he* loved *the Rewards of Divination*; and though he was Reſtrain'd by the Divine prohibition to go at the firſt, yet a ſecond Meſſage carried by more *Honourable Perſons*, and enforc'd with a Charming promiſe of promotion, and Advancement to Honor; This Lull'd *the Prophet* Aſleep, this was a bait, which he could not but ſwallow, the ſilver and gold, the Honors, that *Balak* promis'd, run ſo in his mind, that he could not but hanker after them; though at the laſt this prov'd his deſtruction, for he Aſſociated with *the Midianites*, was found with them; and was *Slain in the Battel*, *Numb.* 31. 8. God particularly turn'd the courſe of his wrath upon him, as he will do upon all ſuch *as forſake the right way, as go Aſtray by*.

by following the way of Balaam *the Son of* Bosor, *who loved the wages of unrighteousness.*

Thus have I set before you the evil things that you have done, and for which you are appointed to dye.

What remains, but that, as *an Ambassador of God*, I pray *you in Christ's stead to be Reconcil'd to God*, to consider your latter end, to seek the Lord your God with an hearty, and Sincere Repentance; *Repentance* is a Turning of the whole Heart from Sin and the Devil, to serve God in Newness of Life, a purging of the *Conscience from Dead Works to serve the living God, a dying unto sin*; such a Compunction of the Heart for sin, as is joyn'd with a full purpose, and a steady Resolution to leave, and forsake it; God hath promised to pardon, and hath Actually pardoned the greatest Sin upon such a Repentance; Even Murder it self, that Execrable and Crying Sin; though the innocent blood, you have shed, Crys to Heaven for Vengeance, *yet the blood of the ever Blessed Jesus crys as loud for your pardon and forgiveness*, if you be but deeply touch'd, and affected with a sense of your abominable wickedness.

Your Repentance, 'Tis True, is late, you have been exceeding sinful, you have put off your Duty towards God and your Neighbour; till the very last Minute of your Life; and the Holy Gospel requires not only Sorrow and Remorse for Sin; but an Holy Life to demonstrate the Sincerity of Repentance; But Alas! You have little or no time to amend your Life in, your glass is well nigh run, you have not many hours for the Consideration of your latter End; *Well! but* there is mercy with God, *his Nature and Property is ever to have mercy and to forgive*, his mercy is as infinite as himself; and therefore none must pretend to Limit or Confine it; though you have hitherto liv'd in Prophaneness, in the contempt of God and Religion; yet if you make a True and Ample Confession of all your Wickednesses; if you humbly beg pardon, and, *with the Publi-*

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can in the Goſpel, ſmite upon your breaſt, and ſay, God be Merciful to me a Sinner, if you promiſe and reſolve Amendment, and if God foreſee that ſuch your reſolution would be inviolable, that you would Pay your Vows, if more time were given you; I hope, He will accept your Repentance.

I Leave you therefore to the goodneſs and pity, to the Gracious compaſſion of a merciful God; I pray you to conſider your Latter End, *that after Death, there will be a Judgment*; I beg of you to Employ the ſmall Moment, you have to live, to your Eternal intereſt and Advantage, *to work out your Salvation with fear and Trembling*, to be doubly diligent and induſtrious, *to redeem the time*, ſeeing you are but *come into the Vineyard at the Eleventh hour.*

May you receive Equal Wages with thoſe, that came in at the firſt, *with thoſe that have born the burden and heat of the day*; may you be ſav'd with *the Thief upon the Croſs*; tho' his Caſe, as well as the *Labourers*, is vaſtly different from yours, yet you have a general refuge in the Merits of Chriſt, and in the Mercys of God.

And here, may all you, who have eſcap'd the Sentence of Death, who have been but ſlightly puniſh'd for your offences, follow the ſalutary advice of our Bleſſed Saviour, which He gave to the *Adulterous Woman*, and the *impotent Man in the Goſpel, Go and Sin no more*, Jo. 5. 14. Jo. 8. 11. *Leſt a worſe thing come unto you.*

Laſtly, May all you, who hear me this day, be perſwaded, by the *Exemplary puniſhment of theſe Perſons*, to the Excellent ſervice of God, to keep your veſſels in *Sanctification and Honor*, to the practice of Temperance and Chaſtity, to do always that which is juſt and honeſt, Lawful and Right, to a conſtant performance of your duty both towards God and Men, to an early and ſincere Repen-

Repentance, to bring up your Children in the fear of the Lord, to ſeaſon them betimes with the ſalt of piety and Holy Religion.

I Pray for you all in the Pathetick and Affectionate words of my Text.

Oh that you may be Wiſe, Oh that you may underſtand this, O that you would conſider your Latter End!

Now to God the Father, God the Son, and to *God the Holy Ghoſt be Aſcrib'd,* as is moſt due, *all Honor, Glory, Power,* Might, Majeſty, *Dominion and Faithful Jervice* from Henceforth and for Evermore, *Amen.*

A Short ACCOUNT *of Mr.* Edmund Robinſon, *who was Condemn'd for* High-Treaſon, *in Counterfeiting the* KING's Coin, *on* Monday *the* 23. *of* March, 169⅟. *and Executed on* Tueſday *the* 31ſt. *of* March, 1691.

THe place of this Unhappy Man's birth was *Colne Pariſh in the County of* Lancaſter; His Father was a Conſiderable *Husband-Man,* who ſent him to *School,* as ſoon as he was Capable of Inſtitution; where he made a great *proficiency* in ſomething elſe as well as his Book; for (as I am credibly inform'd by an honeſt *Gentleman* who was his *School-Fellow)* thoſe baſe practices, which have ſince brought him to the *Gallows,* began then to appear, and ſhew themſelves in him; he had there contracted an intimate friendſhip, and acquaintance with a Young

Young Man, whoſe name was *Greggson*, with whom, amongſt many other *Roguiſh* Pranks, he frequently impos'd upon, and cheated the ignorant and unskilful with *Pewter Shillings*; and of whom it is probable, he learn'd *his Art*; for this *Greggson's Father* had the Scandalous Character, & Reputation of a *Coyner*; & *Greggson* himſelf, who had likewiſe taken *Holy Orders* upon him, was, about 10. or 12. Years ago, for *Coyning*, Executed at *Lancaſter*; thus as they had both equally abus'd, and Scandaliz'd their *ſacred function*, as they were Brethren together in iniquity, ſo in the ſhameful manner of their deaths they *were not divided*.

From this *School*, I ſuppoſe, he went to the *Univerſity*, where, according to his own information, he was admitted, though he made but a very ſhort ſtay there, not reſiding in the *College* above ſix weeks, when he return'd into the Countrey, but whether or no he ever viſited the *Univerſity* again to take a degree, he wou'd not give me any ſatisfaction as to that particular.

However, he got *into orders*, being ordain'd both *Deacon* and *Prieſt*, as he told me, by the *Right Reverend Father in God Dr.* Hacket *late Biſhop of* Lichfield and *Coventry*, which qualify'd him for a *Benefice*; a place call'd *Holmforth*, under the *Vicaridge* of *Kirk-Burton* in *York-Shire*, which *Curacy*, in value about 25, or 30 *l. per Annum*, he ſerv'd about *Eleaven years*, and then pretended to leave it through ſome Bodily indiſpoſition; he preach'd likewiſe for the ſpace of a year at a place call'd *Haworth* in the Pariſh of *Bradford*; this was all the *promotion* he had in the *Church*, and from which, if he had been honeſt and induſtrious, he might have had a comfortable ſubſiſtence; having the Addition of 12 *l. per Annum* of a Temporal Eſtate, which he got by the marriage of one *Anthony Armitage's daughter*, a conſiderable Yeoman of *Thick Hollins*, in the pariſh of *Almon-bury*; His Life, *when a Curate*, was by no means ſuitable to his profeſſion; for he wou'd *Forge Licenſes*, and *Clandeſtinely Marry*, and was guilty of many other immoralities, which, to mention,

wou'd ſwell this Narrative too much; By theſe Vicious practices he made himſelf Obnoxious to the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, being *Suſpended* and *Excommunicated*, and at the laſt impriſon'd upon a writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo:* Such was his Deportment, ſuch was his behaviour, when concern'd in *the Church:* But the *Devil* had put, into the heart of this *Judas Iſcariot*, another-gueſs, and as he Tempted him to Believe, a more Profitable and advantagious way of living in the world, which was by *imparing and* Counterfeiting *the King's Coyn*, this was the Employ he Cloſely follow'd, when at *Bank End*, in the aforeſaid Pariſh of *Kirk-Burton*, as he himſelf inform'd me, telling me all the Tricks of his Black Art, and what difference there was, as to advantage, in *Clipping and Coyning*, and how the one was eaſier, and leſs troubleſome than the other; that he melted down his *Clippings*, and what ſav'd of them in *Coyning*, he Tranſmitted to the *Gold-Smiths*, of whom he received frequently very conſiderable Sums of Money; I ſhall ſpare their *Names* now through hopes of their Reformation and Amendment, that they will for the future (as it is very much in their power to do) put a ſtop to ſuch miſchiefs by an honeſt and an ingenuous diſcovery of the *Bullion Bringers*; but Alas! What won't men do when blinded by intereſt; when *Mammon* is their God?

This was the way Mr. *Robinſon* took to Raiſe his Fortunes in the world, though at the laſt it brought upon him a *Fatal Cataſtrophe*; He was ſeveral times Apprehended, and Try'd for his Life; for at *the Aſſizes holden at York the* 4th *of* March, *and in the* 30th *year, of* King Charles *the* 2d, 1678. He was Try'd *for Clipping*, but Acquitted, though at the *ſame* time Convicted for uttering falſe Money, and *Fined* 20 *l.* At the *Aſſizes* alſo holden at *York* the 17. of *March*, 1679. *and in the* 31. *Year of* King Charles *the* 2*d.* he was again Convicted for Uttering *Falſe Money*, and *Fined* 500 *l.* At the *Aſſizes* holden likewiſe at *York* the firſt *of Auguſt in the firſt year of* King James *the* 2*d* 1685, he was Try'd for *Coyning*, and acquitted; ſuch was the Risk he Run, ſuch was the danger

he

he frequently and narrowly eſcap'd; but all this wou'd not deter him from, wou'd not oblige and enforce him to give over ſuch a dangerous employment, as ſo often brought him to the very brink of deſtruction, as ſo often gave him a diſmal proſpect of an infamous death.

But though the Pitcher goes oft to the water, it comes home broken at laſt.

For at the *Aſſizes* holden at *York the* 14. *of March* 1691, he was Try'd for his old *Treaſon* in *Coyning*, found guilty, & deſervedly Executed for the ſame; he was very unwilling to come to his Tryal, having *Peremptorily Challeng'd* 35 which were all the *Law* allow'd him to Except againſt, without *ſhewing cauſe*; never Man had a fairer Tryal, never Man of his Quality, had a more ſubſtantial and intelligent Jury, and never Man had the Happineſs to come before a more Patient and Merciful, a more learned and impartial *Judge*.

He did indeed, Voluntarily Surrender himſelf, but if he had not done ſo, he muſt a' Fled his *Countrey*, for *warrants* were iſſued out for his Apprehenſion: His only Son *Benjamin*, and *his wife*, were brought to the *Caſtle* ſome Months before; his *bowells*, I fancy, yearn'd upon them, and the *Scheme* he had drawn, the projects he had, as he thought, Cunningly form'd and Contriv'd for his own and their deliverance, this might oblige him to a Voluntary ſurrender of himſelf into the Hands of *Juſtice*; and indeed never Man produc'd more *Witneſſes* to invalidate a ſingle Teſtimony, and ſome of them did very wonderfully agree together, for a Man and a Woman, told a long Story *Ipſiſſimis Verbis*, their words were the very ſelf ſame, there was not one tittle Difference or Variation, by which and ſome Croſs queſtions it plainly appear'd they had conn'd their Leſſon Together; beſides, all the Evidence, they gave in his behalf, was built upon a Rotten Foundation, namely a *bond*, which was in a manner demonſtrated to be *forg*'d, by very clear Circumſtances, and particularly by an Oath of a *Gentleman*, then accidentally in *Court*, who depos'd, that he was very well acquainted with the Hand-

Writing of Mr. *Anthony Preſton* Late Miniſter at *Barnsley*, and that the Hand in the *Bond* was nothing like it; and indeed for mine own Satisfaction, and that I might the better preſs him to a Confeſſion of the Forgery, I procured a Letter, which Mr. *Anthony Preſton* had writ to *one*, who's concern'd in the management of the *Prerogative Office* in *York*, which I ſhewed to Mr. *Robinſon* after his Condemnation, and deſir'd to compare the *Hands*, but the *Bond*, he pretended, was not in his poſſeſſion; though upon ſight of the *Letter* he acknowledged to me, That the *Hands* did not very well agree together; and yet at his Death declar'd, the *Bond* was *legally* obtained.

Another thing that might oblige him to a Voluntary Surrender, was the Belief that *Two poſitive Witneſſes* were neceſſarily requir'd by the *Law*, to the taking away his Life; and he was morally certain, that only *One* would Swear againſt him; but alas! he was groſly miſtaken; for the *Judge* (Mr. *Baron Turton*) told him, That *Counterfeiting Money was High-Treaſon at Common Law*, but *Clipping* was not; and by *Common Law* one *Witneſs in Treaſon*, as well as other Offences, was deem'd Sufficient. By the *Statutes* indeed (*primo Edw. 6. cap.* 12. *&* 5, *&* 6. of *Edward 6. cap.* 11.) *Two Witneſſes* are required in all ſorts of *Treaſons*: But afterwards the Statute, in 1. & 2. of *Philip* and *Mary*, *cap.* 11. reduces the Way of Tryal for Impairing and Counterfeiting the *King's Coin*, to the *form accuſtomed* before 1 of *Edward* the *6th.* So that now the difference between Evidence for *Counterfeiting*, and Evidence for *Impairing*, is this: The firſt being *High Treaſon* by *Common Law*, no more than One Witneſs is required: The latter being made *High-Treaſon by Act of Parliament*, that *Act* requires *Two Witneſſes*. I ſhall not trouble you with any *Tranſcript*, it is but having Recourſe to the *Statute-Book*, and there you may receive further ſatisfaction.

That one Witneſs therefore will do for *Counterfeiting*, becauſe it is *High-Treaſon* by *Common Law*, the *Judge* was pleaſed to declare it not only to be his own, but his *Learned Brethren's* con-

conſiderative Opinion; and likewiſe produced Judge *Hales*'s Pleas of the Crown to the *Jury*, which ſhew'd, That that Incomparable *Judge* gave the ſame Sence and Opinion in the Caſe, who was a moſt *Eminent Lawyer*, as well as a *Great Divine*.

This voluntary Surrender of himſelf he often urg'd to me, as a plain Indication, as an undeniable Argument of his Innocency; but having confeſs'd to me (and which Confeſſion he, when interrupted by me, confirmed at the Gallows) his *guiltineſs* in *Clipping* and *Coining*, both before and after his frequent Deliverances, I told him, that the ill uſe he made of them had provoked *the Lord*, that the *Sins* of this and of another nature, being impenitently perſiſted in, had made them ripe for Puniſhment in this World, and that it was the *Divine Juſtice* which would not permit him to live any longer upon Earth, and which had blinded and infatuated his Underſtanding; and that God would certainly overtake him with infinitely more fearful Storms of Vengeance in the World to come, if he laboured not earneſtly to reconcile himſelf unto Him before his departure, by a free and an entire confeſſion of his Sins, and a true and faithful Repentance for them. I deſir'd him, that (as he had been concern'd in an *Honorary* and *Publick Office*, but had in no wiſe anſwer'd the *Character* of it, his Life having all along been a *contradiction* to the Sacred Deſign and Holy End or its Inſtitution) he would leave ſomething in Writing behind him as a *Monument* of his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for the ſame; and that others might by him take an *Example*, and flee ſuch Vices as had brought him to ſuch a ſhameful End. This, I told him, was a very reaſonable requeſt, and nothing but what became a ſincere Penitent to do; but I could not perſwade him to any thing of this nature; he only deſir'd me, that, if I thought it expedient, I might diſcloſe to the World (and which is the reaſon of this Relation) what he had confeſſed to me, and ſeem'd to wiſh heartily, that what he had done, and the Puniſhment he was like to undergo, might be of ſuch uſe to thoſe of the ſame

Function

Function with himſelf, and to all others, as might influence them to the conſtant conſervation of *Innocency*, to be *holy and righteous in all manner of Converſation.* I duly attended upon him, from his Condemnation to his Death, and always, both *before* and *after Divine Service*, exhorted him (for alas! I could not extort one) to a thorow Confeſſion of all his Sins, and particularly of the Fact which he was to dye for, but he denied it then, and perſiſted in his Denial to the very laſt moment, That ever *Roger Preſton* coin'd for him 1300 *l.* in half a Years time (as he had ſworn) or that ever he was Privy either to his Clipping or Coining.

Alas! he was horribly abus'd and impos'd upon by *ſome*, who for *filthy Lucre's ſake*, promis'd him, and gave him the greateſt Aſſurances of procuring him a *Reprieve*, ſo ſtrangely and unreaſonably, to the very moment of his going to *Execution*; did he buoy up himſelf with hopes of Life, upon the conſideration of ſuch Vain Promiſes, and the *Diſcovery* he himſelf had made, that the *Powers of Religion* did, I'm afraid, very little operate upon him. When he came indeed to the place of *Execution*, and ſaw a *Terrible Death* ſtare him in the Face, he was, I believe, under the greateſt Trouble and Confuſion, and ſpoke to me more paſſionately than ever he had done before, to pray for and with him. I told him nothing would make the *Sacrifice of Prayer* acceptable to God, but a confeſſion of all his Sins, and particularly of the Fact he dy'd for; an abhorrency and deteſtation of them; an hearty acknowledgment of the *Divine Juſtice*; a cheerful reſignation of himſelf to God, and a being in Love and Charity with all the World. But, alas! after he had taken a ſolemn Leave of his Son, (the *Sheriff* having immediately before his Execution acquainted him with his *Reprieve*) and given him a *Charge* to be dutiful to his *Mother*, and the like, when he aſcended *the Ladder*, inſtead of performing the Religious Duty I preſs'd him to, inſtead of imploring the Mercy and Forgiveneſs of God for his great and manifold Tranſgreſſions of the Laws, both

Humane

Humane and Divine, and pārticularly for the Scandalous Life he had led, when being under the higheſt Obligations to the contrary, as having taken Holy Orders upon him; inſtead of expreſſing an Univerſal Love and a Catholick Charity, he did nothing but bitterly inveigh againſt the *Law*, the *Judge*, the *Jury*, the *Witneſs*, and againſt *the Clerk of Aſſize*, for producing the *Records of his former Trials* againſt him. Thus he died in the *Pett*; thus he expir'd rather in a Tranſport of Rage and Fury, than with a Chriſtian Temper and Diſpoſition: *But as he liv'd, ſo he was reſolv'd to dye*; which ſhew'd a ſear'd and an inſenſate Conſcience, that through the long and cuſtomary practice of Wickedneſs and Vice, he was grown *numb'd*, or paſt feeling, that Darkneſs had vail'd his Underſtanding, and that God had juſtly *given him the Spirit of Slumber*.

I'm heartily ſorry I can give no better an account, nor a more comfortable relation of him, though *Charity* commands to think the beſt, obliges to the moſt candid and favourable conſtruction.

I pray GOD, that every one by his exemplary Puniſhment may be influenc'd and perſwaded to *follow always that which is Good*, ſo to exerciſe themſelves, as *to have always a Conſcience void of Offence both towards God and men*; and particularly *all ſuch* as are called to any *Eccleſiaſtical Office or Adminiſtration*, that they may take heed to do the thing which is Right, that they may do all to the Glory of God, to the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the Reputation of their Holy Function, by conſtantly living a Life of Holineſs and Purity: *In doing this, they will ſave themſelves and them that hear them.* Amen.

There were Ten Perſons more executed with him, Two for the ſame *Treaſon*, who were both convicted by one and the ſame Witneſs *R. P.* They were Mr. *Nicholas Battersby* of the City of *York*, and *Robert Cokeſon* of *Wakefield Woodſide* in the Pariſh of *Wakefield* in the County of *York*, who both deny'd the Fact they were condemn'd for. *Cokeſon* indeed ſeemed

ed to have ſome ſence of God and Religion, and I am confident, if he were to have liv'd, would have become a new man: And though he abſolutely, to the laſt moment of his Life, denied the Fact which *Preſton* laid to his Charge, yet he did not deny, that he had been a great Clipper; but *who* accommodated or furniſhed him with *Money*, that he would never in the leaſt declare.

The other Malefactors were;

Joanna Moat, for the Murder of her Child.
Tho. Langhorn, for the Murder of his Wife.
Edward Smith, for Burglary.
Ottowell Bocking, for Burglary.
Chriſtopher Geldart, for Cloth off the Tenters, and Horſe-ſtealing.
Robert Spark, *Chr. Jewitt*, } for Horſe-ſtealing.
John Croſland, for burning a Barn.

All of whom, except Two, namely, *Langhorn* and *Bocking*, confeſſed themſelves guilty of the reſpective *Crimes* they dy'd for, and I hope they were penitent: They particularly recommended to the *numerous Spectators* the ſtrict and holy Obſervation of the *Lord's Day*, for they attributed all the Miſchief and Miſery that befel them to the *breaking of the Sabbath*, and told the People, That when they ſhou'd have been at *Church*, offering up to God the Sacrifice of Prayer and Thankſgiving; when they ſhould have been hearing the Doctrines of Religion explained, and the Sins againſt the Laws of it reprehended, they then were ſpending their precious Time in *Rioting* and *Drunkenneſs*, in *Chambering* and *Wantonneſs*, and therefore God had very juſtly ſuffer'd them to fall into the Temptation of the *Devil*, and to come to ſuch a ſhameful and ignominious End. I pray God that the *Great Execution* at this laſt Aſſizes, that their Sufferings may excite and oblige all People to the conſtant Practice of Juſtice and Honeſty, to a religious and ſtrict Obſervance of the *Lord's Day*, to reſort to the *Temple* of the Lord at the *Canonical hours of Prayer*, there *to preſent their Bodies, a Living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is their reaſonable Service.* Amen.

F I N I S.